

IRISH WOMEN IN THE DIASPORA: EXCLUSIONS AND INCLUSIONS

BRONWEN WALTER
Department of Geography
Anglia Polytechnic University
East Road
Cambridge CB1 1PT
UK

Phone: +44 1223 363271 x2179

e-mail: b.walter@apu.ac.uk

Short title: Irish women in the diaspora

Synopsis: Irish women have a long history of emigration which provides parallels with the experiences of women now moving to settle in Ireland. In both cases women migrants have been needed to fill the massive deficit of paid domestic labour in rapidly industrialising economies. Over the last two centuries these destinations for Irish women have included the USA, Britain and Australia, as well as Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and Argentina. Some of the complexities in the positioning of migrant Irish women within the ‘diaspora spaces’ they occupy are explored in this article. I identify ongoing disadvantage for certain groups of Irish-born women, drawing on evidence primarily from Britain, which has the largest contemporary diasporic Irish population. Comparisons are made with Irish women’s experiences in the USA and Australia, using Census and survey data generated by and for the 2002 *Task Force on Policy regarding Emigrants*. The concept of diaspora explicitly includes those identifying themselves as Irish over several generations. I use qualitative findings from the *Irish 2 Project*, a recent study of the large second-generation Irish population in Britain, to examine narratives of women living in Manchester who grew up in ‘Irish’ households and are subsequently negotiating hybrid identities in adulthood. These offer insights into longitudinal dimensions of migrant experience and the continuing significance of ethnic difference.

Biography: Bronwen Walter is Professor of Irish Diaspora Studies at Anglia Polytechnic University, Cambridge, England. She has published widely on Irish migration to Britain, with particular reference to the post-1945 period. She is co-author of the Commission for Racial Equality Report *Discrimination and the Irish Community in Britain* (1997) and her book *Outsiders inside: whiteness, place and Irish women* was published by Routledge in 2001.

INTRODUCTION

Responses and strategies of ‘accommodation, complicity, resistance, struggle, transgression’ (Brah, 1996, p.138), which characterise the everyday lives of Irish women living outside Ireland, provide telling and productive parallels with those of migrant women from elsewhere now settling inside. This article explores some of the complexities and ambiguities in both the positioning of migrant Irish women within the societies of which they become part, and in their own negotiation of changing political, social and economic circumstances.

Evidence relates primarily to Britain, which has the largest recent diasporic Irish population and where the most detailed research has been undertaken to date. Comparisons are also drawn with Irish women’s experiences in the USA and Australia, using data generated by and for the *Task Force on Policy regarding Emigrants* (2002). The concept of diaspora explicitly includes those identifying themselves as Irish over several generations. New findings from the *Irish 2 Project*, a recent study of the large second-generation Irish population in England and Scotland, are used to examine narratives of women growing up in ‘Irish’ households and of their subsequent negotiations of identities in adulthood¹. This provides insights into longitudinal dimensions of migrant experience and the ongoing significance of nation and locality.

It is important that we should place migrant women’s experiences in Ireland in the wider context of Irish women’s own knowledge of migrancy². Few, if any, nations in the western industrialised world can draw on such direct and deeply-embedded memories to the same extent as Ireland. This has been particularly true for women, who have outnumbered men leaving Ireland in many decades since 1871 (Walter, 1991). Within the lifetimes of older women at the present time, rates of outflow were exceptionally high. For example, of women living in the Irish Republic in 1946, one third had left the country by 1971 (Kelly and Nic Giolla Choille, 1990).

We may be able to learn from the experiences of Irish women emigrants about what migrant women are now encountering in today’s Ireland and what Irish women have been, and still are, engaging with elsewhere. It is also the case that migrant women in Ireland are entering a society which has had very close contact with the migration experience, whether or not these memories and connections are acknowledged (Gray, 2003).

EMIGRATION OF IRISH WOMEN

It is well known that Irish women have emigrated on a large scale since the middle of the nineteenth century. Before the Great Famine of 1845-8 women migrated mainly as part of family units. After the Famine a major shift took place and young single women came to dominate the flow. Although they often travelled within family networks, young women left as economic migrants in their own right. Their movements closely followed the demand for labour in rapidly industrialising societies, especially

in those settler societies where there was a shortage of females. In the USA for example there was a massive shortage of women available for work as domestic servants from the early nineteenth century (Diner, 1983; Nolan, 1989). By the middle of the century this was augmented by the need for large numbers of textile workers in East Coast mill towns (Walter, 2001). Women also left Ireland to avoid or escape from social oppression, including domestic abuse and censorial attitudes to childbearing outside marriage, as well as more general restrictions on leading independent lives (Kelly and Nic Giolla Choille, 1990).

The USA was a prime destination and Irish women outnumbered men at an increasing rate over the course of the nineteenth century. Large numbers also came to Britain, entering similar areas of work, domestic service, especially in South East England and textile factories in the North West. But the diaspora spread globally, reaching South Africa, Argentina, Australia and New Zealand (Akenson, 1993). Irish women were shipped to Australia for example from workhouses to provide wives as well as female labour in a very unevenly gender-balanced society (McClaughlin, 1998).

There are clear parallels between the experiences of these nineteenth century emigrants from Ireland and those of women entering Ireland today. Women from Ireland represented an unusual example of the feminisation of migration in an era when the majority of colonial settlers and labour migrants leaving Europe were men. They were also filling a 'care deficit' created by the 'cult of domesticity' in which upper and middle class men required their wives to perform conspicuous displays of leisure, leaving the manual work of household and childcare to paid domestic servants and nursemaids (McClintock, 1995). However an important difference was the truncated nature of the global care chain to which the breaking of the contract gave rise. Women left Ireland as young single people without children of their own, and were not therefore part of a three-generational chain in the same way as present-day au pairs or migrant childcare workers from Eastern Europe or the Philippines (Conroy, 2003). But they did send back substantial parts of their earnings to support their parents and enable their siblings to emigrate.

In the early twentieth century a marked shift towards Britain took place. After 1920 numbers of Irish women emigrating to the USA plunged and Britain became the destination of 80% during the massive outflow of the 1950s and until the 1980s. Irish women's contribution to the 'care deficit' in Britain continued and indeed increased. They were seen as indispensable to the running of middle-class English homes in the 1930s (Ryan, 2001). Thus the 'intergenerational care contract' had already been broken in these social classes, in contrast to the recentness of such a change in Ireland (Conroy, 2003). Between 1940 and 1951, when Travel Permits were required by war-time emigrants, 57% of women leaving the Irish Republic were described as domestic servants (Commission on Emigration, 1956). Even in 1983 39% of Irish-born women in London were employed in catering, cleaning and personal services (Walter, 1989). A further 21% were nurses, another striking parallel with migrant women entering Ireland in the present period (Conroy, 2003:8). Of 1,689 overseas nurses registered in Ireland with An Bord Altranais (Nursing Registration Board) in 2001, 1,310 were from the Philippines.

Virginie Noel (2003) describes a 'double-side attitude' towards Filipina nurses in Ireland who were 'on the one side, valued for their skills; on the other subject to exploitation or discrimination because of their origin' (Noel, 2003). This echoes experiences reported in a survey of Irish nurses in London in the late 1980s. They felt respected for their hard work and sympathetic approach, but 36% reported some degree of hostility towards them as Irish people in different contexts (Walter, 1989:90).

More recently however emigration destinations have changed again. In another major reorientation, greater proportions have moved to other European destinations and to Australia. Those entering Britain accounted for 70% of the total in 1988 but by 2001 the proportion had fallen to 27%, with 21% going to the rest of the EU, 12% to the USA and 41% to the 'Rest of the world'. Although there has been net immigration to Ireland continuously since 1996 (Mac Éinrí, 2001), emigration of young people continues. In 2001, for example, nearly 20,000 people aged 15-24 left the Republic, 52% of them young women³. Their changing destinations are associated with significant variations in their experiences according to context. Moreover there are ongoing consequences for the daughters of migrants who, whilst settled, may continue to identify wholly or in part with their parents' country or culture of origin.

We need to take a diasporic rather than simply an emigrant perspective. This has not simply been a one-way movement, a linear trajectory outwards from Ireland. Women emigrants have retained contact with Ireland. They have been prominent amongst those sending remittances to families in Ireland. Indeed it has been argued that women were given higher standards of education than men in order to equip them for jobs which would allow a surplus to be sent 'home' (Fitzpatrick, 1986). They have also been more assiduous writers of letters and users of telephones to 'keep in touch' (Gray, 1999).

Most recently women have also begun to outnumber men amongst the returned migrants (Punch and Finneran, 1999). This is in contrast to earlier decades when women were more reluctant or less able to return. In the 1970s for example, there was a marked preponderance of men in the positive balance of migrants, suggesting that women had made the choice to remain in Britain (Walter, 1991). Since detailed records have been kept from 1986 however, women have increasingly predominated. In 1986 the ratio was 1018 women to 1000 men returnees and the ratio rose to 1052 in 1996. Women returnees are thus resettling in Ireland alongside new arrivals from other parts of the world.

EXCLUSIONS AND INCLUSIONS

This article draws on the findings of the academic study (Walter et al. 2002) commissioned to support the Irish Government's *Task Force on Policy regarding Emigrants*, which reported in August 2002). The establishment of the Task Force in 2001 represented a radical departure from previous responses to the issue of Irish emigrants. In the past emigrants had been ignored or those remaining in the Irish Republic had been invited to see them as people benefiting from greater prosperity abroad (Hickman, 2002). The Task Force was charged with identifying problems for Irish emigrants and recommending

ways in which a greater input of resources by the Irish Government could ameliorate some of them. They located this new approach in changed political and socio-economic circumstances.

The economic and social developments that have taken place in Ireland in recent years, and the new and inclusive definition of the Irish Nation in Article 2 of the Constitution as a result of the Good Friday Agreement, provide a new context in which to view the phenomenon of Irish emigration and present an opportunity to put in place a new approach to meeting the needs of Irish emigrants (*Task Force Report*, 2002:1).

Clearly the primary purpose of the Task Force study was to identify exclusions, whereas the totality of migrant experience is much more complex. Very few individuals can be categorised as included or excluded. Most are included in some dimensions of their lives and excluded in others. Moreover their situations and feelings change, both over their own lifetimes and in changing political, social and economic contexts. People also locate themselves in different ways in order to cope with their situation.

This complex mix is illustrated by the experiences of Irish women in Britain. In many ways they appear to be economically successful, especially those in younger age groups. Above average proportions are recorded in the higher status professional categories. In the new 2001 Census category for England and Wales 'White Irish' 13.2% of women compared with 9.5% of the White British population were in these occupations and 20.4% in Associated Professional and Technical Occupations compared with 13.8% of the White British (Table 1). However in all Censuses up to 1991, Irish-born women were also substantially over-represented in the Personal Services sector where the low-paid cleaning and catering workforce is located (Walter, 1991; Hickman and Walter, 1997). There is clearly a strong demand for Irish women's labour at both ends of the employment scale, which helps to explain high levels of migration from Ireland to fill these slots (O'Connor and Goodwin, 2002).

The types of work undertaken by Irish women have linked them much more closely into English society than Irish men whose employment on construction sites, for example, often isolated them (Cowley, 2001). Irish women's lower professional occupations as nurses and teachers, and domestic work as cleaners and caterers, placed them alongside and in daily contact with both those of English background and members of other diasporic groups (Table 1).

However set against this evidence of inclusion are significant levels of disadvantage relative to the total population, especially the majority 'White British' ethnic category. This is brought out most clearly in the Census statistics on self-reported poor health. In 2001 when data on both 'limiting long term illness' and 'not good health' was published for the 'White Irish' ethnic group only⁴, significant differences from the average for the British population were evident (Table 2). These were strongest for women in the late middle-aged group (50-64): 15.6% reported a combination of both forms of ill-health in 2001 compared with 11.9% of the majority White British category.

In Britain, therefore, Irish women have been included as integral parts of the labour force filling gaps in the qualified caring professions and the so-called unskilled domestic work categories. Clear evidence of this lies in their levels of unemployment which have been similar to, or lower than, the White non-Irish population (Walter, 1997). But statistical evidence of significantly poorer health provides a material pointer to a complex range of social and cultural exclusions which have left their marks on women's bodies. Poor health amongst Irish people and their descendents cannot be explained simply in terms of social class position (Harding and Balarajan, 1996). The most comprehensive research to date suggests that their marginal social location, with its associated racism, discrimination and cultural insensitivity at an institutional level, underlies this stark difference (Tilki, 2003).

In many ways Irish women's migration to the United States of America has been a more obvious success story. In the nineteenth century, when very large numbers of young Irish women chose this destination, they are often credited with being agents of Irish achievement of mainstream white advantage. Hasia Diner (1983) writes very positively of Irish domestic servants who saved money to pay for their daughters to receive levels of education which would enable them to become school teachers and thus enter 'white blouse' occupations. They were acclaimed as 'civilizers' of their families, in contrast to 'feckless' Irish men, who abandoned their households and drank the money they earned.

However despite this stereotype of successful Irish incorporation into the 'white' mainstream, the Task Force identified two groups of women living in the USA in the early years of the twenty first century who were disadvantaged because of their Irish origins. The first were older migrants where women greatly outnumber men. This is partly a cohort effect: in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries women formed a greater part of the emigrant flow from Ireland. Not only do they live longer, but fewer chose, or were able, to return to Ireland. Many women in this cohort entered low-paid, part-time domestic work and were unable to save for their old age. Often they did not apply for US citizenship and as a consequence are not eligible for social security benefits under a new ruling in 2001. Their unwillingness to give up Irish citizenship reflects an encapsulation within Irish social and cultural circles, and the decay of these contacts has left many older Irish women isolated (Walter et al., 2002).

The specific problems facing older women are part of a wider picture of submerged poverty in present-day Irish-American households. This ongoing disadvantage has not been widely acknowledged in assessments of the upward mobility of the group as a whole and the assumption of its smooth incorporation into the hegemonic 'white' mainstream. Indeed writers such as David Lloyd (1994) chastise Irish-Americans for seeking to 'jump on the ethnic bandwagon' in claiming a diasporic identity which by definition implies some degree of ongoing exclusion from societies of settlement. However links between 'poor white' experiences and Irish background in certain parts of the USA continue to assert themselves, often in very powerful ways. Michael Patrick MacDonald's (1999)

searing account *All Souls: a family story from Southie*, which describes Irish-American life in South Boston in the 1980s, belies any simple conflation of Irishness with White supremacy. Similarly in his work on contemporary Detroit, John Hartigan (1997) emphasises shared positionings and longstanding alliances between African-Americans and the 'white' underclass, which included a large proportion of people with Irish names. But to date there has been no avenue of recognition for such ethnic/class disadvantage in which women are disproportionately represented.

The second group of Irish women currently experiencing exclusion in the USA are located at the opposite end of the age spectrum. These are the young undocumented immigrants whose position much more closely parallels that of present day 'new migrants' in Ireland. Although as Eithne Luibheid (1997) argues, the long-established Irish dimension to the US political machine gave a specific advantage to Irish migrants in the visa programmes of the early 1990s, those arriving after 1996 were not granted such privileged access. Indeed in the programme year 1998-9, only 652 of the 55,000 new diversity visas were allocated to the Irish (Almeida, 2001).

The consequences of being undocumented migrants in the USA are particularly harsh for women, as those giving evidence to the Task Force pointed out (Walter et al., 2002). Mary Corcoran (1993) studied in detail the life of the illegal Irish community in New York in the late 1980s, using both participant observation and in-depth interviews. She commented on the 'striking' parallels between the experiences of nineteenth-century Irish domestic servants in New York and their contemporary counterparts. Positions as nannies or companions to the elderly in private homes were 'the only accessible jobs for those who lacked legal documentation' (p.80). A major factor in the increasing demand for such paid labour was the growing number of married US women in the workforce, mirroring of the current situation in the Irish Republic (O'Connor, 1998). Corcoran describes working conditions in which there is no protection from exploitation, which again find echoes in those endured by non-EU migrants in Ireland (Conroy, 2003):

A nanny's job is in many respects unattractive. Nannies interviewed for this study report that they are paid less than the minimum wage for a 12-hour day. The job description tends to expand once they take up residence in the household. Apart from infringements of their privacy and loss of personal freedom, some have their personal belongings confiscated and have been threatened with the immigration authorities if they raise any objections. They find themselves almost completely subordinated to the will of their employers. Their jobs are characterised by isolation, exploitation, lack of personal autonomy, and subsistence living. (p.82)

Conditions worsened after the attack on the World Trade Centre in New York on September 11, 2001. The undocumented found themselves particularly vulnerable to job loss and deportation. One immediate effect, which had serious implications for young women, was their inability to obtain a driver's licence, an essential qualification for childcare work. Rates of unemployment are now higher

for women than men, and dependence on male partners for economic support may lead to domestic abuse. The Aisling Centre in Yonkers, New York, reported to the Task Force that many more women than men sought help. Welfare workers pointed out that recent arrivals are also younger and have fewer educational qualifications than those who entered the USA in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and are thus more at risk of exploitation both within and outside the Irish community.

Far less is known about Irish women's experiences in other diasporic locations. In Australia, for example, very little research on Irish women's lives, particularly in the post-War period, has been carried out. Even historical scholarship in the area is 'relatively neglected' (McClaughlin, 1998, p.xiv). There has been a widespread assumption that the Irish were part of the Anglo-Celtic mainstream and thus automatically included in all areas of Australian life. The extent to which this has suppressed consideration of exclusions remains to be explored.

WOMEN OF IRISH DESCENT

Issues about the citizenship of children born in Ireland to migrants already point to the importance of heritage and background of subsequent generations (Fraser, 2003; Lentin, 2003; Luibheid, 2003). The corresponding experiences of Irish women in the diaspora provide a point of reference for this new phenomenon in Ireland. In this section I draw on new research from the *Irish 2 Project* completed between 2000 and 2002 which examines the positioning, in terms of identities and socio-economic placement, of people born in Britain to one or two Irish-born parents from both North and South (www.anglia.ac.uk/geography/progress/irish2/). The population is sometimes described as the 'second generation' to indicate the importance of parental birthplace outside Britain. However this is a contested label, appearing to tie children firmly back into their parents' situation of migrancy rather than acknowledging their own more permanent status of hybridity in a multicultural society. The failure to accept hybridity as the norm, rather than the exception, is a feature of 'racial states' (Brah, 1996; Lentin, 2003; Pieterse, 2001).

Officially a specific place was marked out for people of Irish descent in the 2001 Census⁵. For the first time the Office of National Statistics, responding to strong representations from the Irish community supported by the Commission for Racial Equality, invited people who were not born in Ireland but considered that they had an Irish 'cultural background' to identify themselves as 'White Irish' (Aspinall, 1996). Those with a 'Black', 'Asian' or 'Mixed' ('race' was implied but not stated) heritage were not believed to require an Irish part to their identity and were certainly not expected to claim this as their major ethnic location. But even for those who classified themselves as 'White', hybridity was not an option. In contrast to groups given the option to subscribe to being 'Asian or Asian British' or 'Black or Black British', the Irish were faced with an either/or choice – British or Irish. One aim of the *Irish 2 Project* was to interpret the Census responses in the light of detailed discussions with groups and individuals born in Britain to Irish parents.

In devising the project, of which I was Director and one of four researchers, we paid particular attention to the varied geographical contexts of people of Irish descent in Britain. We selected five locations in order to take account of many factors which could affect their experiences. These include varied histories of Irish settlement and therefore the possibility of mixed family backgrounds over several generations, different socio-economic opportunities according to changing levels of economic prosperity and decline, and a range of population sizes both of totals and the Irish-born. We chose London as the largest centre of Irish settlement, especially in the post-1945 period when it has been the destination of over one third of Irish migrants (Hickman and Walter, 1997). We decided to interview people of Irish parentage in Manchester to provide an important counterpoint in the north west of England, a centre of continuous attraction to migrants from Ireland throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Although Liverpool was the quintessential nineteenth-century 'home from home' for Irish people, its attraction for Irish migrants has declined rapidly since the 1930s.

As a contrast with these two large cities both with long records of Irish settlement, we made a third choice of Coventry in the English West Midlands. Very few Irish people settled in Coventry before the Second World War, but a large immigration took place immediately afterwards to meet the demand for factory workers, especially in the car industry, in the 1950s (King and O'Connor, 1996). Their children now form a large 'second generation' in middle age, which has not been replenished by subsequent migration which by-passed the declining city after the 1960s. Greater diversity was included by our selection of the fourth centre, the much smaller town of Banbury, also located in the English Midlands but with little history of Irish settlement (Walter, Morgan, Hickman and Bradley, 2002). The very large scale of Irish immigration to Britain means that every town and even village has an Irish-born population, but the experiences of those where they are a very small minority is likely to be very different from entering well-established Irish communities in large centres such as London and Manchester.

We added a national dimension to the range of local contexts in England by choosing Glasgow and its surrounding Strathclyde region for detailed exploration in order to highlight key social and cultural features of societies in which Irish migrants have settled. The Catholic dimension to Irish culture is a particularly important ongoing issue, especially where it is strongly contested by the Protestant culture of the majority. The particular version of Protestantism in Scotland and its central links to national identity have brought it into direct conflict with Irish Catholicism. Although the continued salience of this often violent clash is often disputed, the reality of 'second class' Catholic status in Scotland is slowly being revealed and has major relevance to people of Irish descent in their daily lives (Bradley, 1995; Boyle, 2002).

In the *Irish 2 Project* we used a range of quantitative and qualitative methods to examine the identity and material positionings of people of Irish parentage. The quantitative part involved assembling the meagre range of statistical sources which may be used to provide a statistical portrait of the population (Hickman, Morgan and Walter, 2001). The qualitative part included two or three group discussions

held in each location (thirteen in total) as an exploratory tool, inviting participants to discuss amongst themselves the issues and experiences they felt were most central to their senses of their own identities. These were followed up by individual interviews (116) with participants and others, chosen to include the range of gender, class, age, religious and parental background mix known to characterise the population. In addition quantitative information about three generations of their immediate family – including data on birthplace, religion, education, occupations, identifications, health status – was generated in the form of a ‘Family Tree’ to inform and augment the official sources. We kept participants in both the group discussions and individual interviews in touch with the progress of the research through a series of newsletters and a website and workshops were held in each of the five locations to share the findings and invite input to the various forms of dissemination.

For the purposes of this article a small case study will be presented of the women participants in Manchester, which raises many broader issues but retains the detail and specificity of the research process. As has already been outlined, Manchester represents a distinctive British location for people of Irish background. In many ways it has provided an easier context in which to claim and develop an Irish identity. There is a constant flow of migrants crossing between Ireland and England and key elements of Irish Catholic culture, such as churches and schools, are long established. The substantial Jewish settlement in Manchester has also attracted significant numbers of Irish-Jewish migrants (Lentin, 2002). Decades of in-marriage and intermarriage have spread Irish ancestry widely through the local population (Walter, 1984).

The 2001 Census showed that the ‘White Irish’ ethnic category was the second largest minority group in Manchester, after the Indian population. In total 14,826 people ticked the ‘White Irish’ box (3.8 % of the population). However this was a serious undercounting both of the Irish-born and people of immediate Irish descent, in addition to the absence of those for whom there was no tick-box opportunity to classify themselves as ‘Irish’ but not ‘White’. Although the precise number of people with Irish-born parents is not known, available sources suggest that at least a doubling of the Irish-born totals provides the closest estimate. But of this 28,000 potential ‘second generation’ population in Manchester, only 3,074 people born in England ticked the ‘White Irish’ box. Moreover not all Irish-born people chose to identify themselves as ‘White Irish’. Just over three quarters (77.9%) of those ticking the box were born in Ireland, but this represented only 79.8% of all Irish-born people in the City. This means that 20.2% (2,927) of the Irish-born ticked another box. If all Irish-born and only half of all second-generation Irish people had ticked the box, the Irish population would number about 30,000, making it by far the largest minority ethnic group in Manchester (7.6% of the total population). Taken together, first and second generations constitute about 11% of the total population of the city. Data is not yet available on the gender breakdown of respondents to the Census ethnic question.

We held two discussion groups and twenty-two interviews, including equal numbers of women and men, in Manchester. In total twelve women took part in focus groups and/or interviews. We interviewed eleven women individually, of whom five also participated in focus groups. They cannot

be regarded as a representative sample of all 'second-generation' Irish women in Manchester, but their responses illustrate important features of that positioning. Their simplified self-identifications for the purpose of the Family Tree record shows that less than half (5) felt able to adopt a single-origin ethnic label of the kind demanded by the Census form (Table 3).

The small number (2) stating that they were simply 'Irish', which was replicated in the sample as a whole, provides a clear pointer to the low response rate in the 'White Irish' Census category. One was Nora, who was born in Liverpool in 1925 to an Irish-born father and a mother who was herself second-generation Irish. Nora describes the hardship of growing up in a family of thirteen in the 1930s. Catholic difference was brought home to her very sharply.

Where we were brought up there were a lot of people in the same position. Their fathers weren't working, the ones that were working were Protestants, so it made you realise. It wasn't because they were Irish, it was because they were Catholic.

Her identification was very clear-cut.

B: You describe yourself as Irish?

Nora: Yes, always have done.

The other participant with an unusually strong sense of a singular Irish identity was Theresa, a woman in her forties whose Irish-born mother had died when she was a small child. Her Ukrainian-born father was a refugee from Germany in 1945 and had been cut off from his own family. He ensured that she and her brother, who also identifies as Irish, kept in touch with Ireland.

We feel very emotionally attached to Ireland – to my uncle – and when I was growing up, everything we found out about my mother. It was either from my uncle's wife or from an old Jewish lady who lived next to door to us. And then also from my godmother, who was my mother's best friend and they came over to England together. And from what I can gather, when my mother was dying, she asked my Dad to always take us back to Ireland. Because he was from the Ukraine, he couldn't have any – it was the USSR – and had no contact at all with his family. But he was so good, he always brought us to Ireland and when you think in the 60s there were no foreigners in Ireland and his grasp of English wasn't brilliant and coping with Irish accents. And still today, everybody there in our town, they all really have such a respect for him, because he brought us home every year.

This was an unusually strong personal tie, reinforced by particular family circumstances. Theresa was now encouraging her third-generation daughter, Roisin, to take part in Irish cultural activities in Manchester and make frequent visits to relatives in Ireland.

At the other end of the spectrum, two women said they were simply 'English'. But again they had arrived at expressing this identity by very different routes. Carmel, who had two parents from the Irish Republic and had moved in Irish social circles in Manchester as she grew up, had recently decided to adopt this self-description. She had married an Australian and lived for the past two years in Australia, which she felt had contributed to a resolution of a longer-standing ambivalence.

I am English from where I was born, but not from what is very British around me. I wasn't brought up very British, I was brought up very Irish. It is hard to explain, I can't pinpoint. A few years ago, and I remember this really vividly, one of my dad's cousins who is Irish we were in the Irish centre, and he was saying we were Irish, all the kids were Irish. I said I am not I am English, he was saying, no, you are not, you are Irish, and there was an argument. I was probably borderline then. As it stands now, I can't explain it.

As she mulled over her feelings, she began to link them to close friendships with English people, especially after emigration, and the desire to assert her difference from Australians. In Australia, she said, she felt English, illustrating the importance of a wide range of factors in changing senses of identification, including geographical context, lifecycle stage, social environment and partner's background. This was by no means a completed process, but a stage she reached at this particular time. By contrast Carmel's sister Rachel, who accompanied her to the interview, was still immersed in the Manchester Irish community through her job and social life. She felt strongly Irish, illustrating the different senses of identification amongst siblings, which was common amongst the sample.

Bridget, on the other hand, had never had strong ties to her father's Irish family. He had died when she was a small child and she was brought up by her English mother, who was Catholic, with a distant Irish connection. Her choice was reinforced by a wish to distance herself from her siblings' unwanted assertions of their own Irish ties.

Yes, I am very close to my mum, very close, and I think my dad has been dead for a long time. And the Irish connection with my brothers caused a lot of family rows, not rows as such, but they always harp on about Ireland.

The remainder of the sample chose a wide variety of hybrid labels. No-one described themselves as 'second-generation Irish' indicating its technical, academic usage. Only two women attempted hyphenations as a way of linking their Irish and British/English identities, although these are increasingly common for other minority ethnic groups in Britain and are well-known in the USA. Monica wrote down the unusual and politically-loaded term 'Anglo-Irish'⁶ on her Family Tree, but stressed that she used the description 'not in the Protestant sense'. Like Carmel, she felt that she had become more 'English' during her adulthood.

Yes, I am proud of being British and English and equally proud of being Irish. I have a good balance, I believe, for me. I dip in, dip out. I think I am more English, because of my experiences in my adult life.

However, she then revealed that she had ticked 'Irish' in the Census, illustrating the problems faced by people forced to make a choice between two deeply interwoven identities and the dangers in drawing simplistic conclusions from such quantitative surveys.

When I filled in the census I ticked Irish, British Irish, born in England, but I ticked Irish.

This underlines the contextual nature of people's public and private expressions of ethnic identification, as well as the specific problems of the Irish-British relationship.

A similar dilemma was voiced by Emma, who eventually chose 'British-Irish' to describe herself. Although a logical term, this was very unusual amongst the sample as a whole, reflecting its uncomfortable juxtaposition of often oppositional categories and the absence of terms to describe mixed 'white' components of the overarching British identity. Emma was a sixteen-year-old schoolgirl searching for an identification which encompassed both her family background and her own birthplace, and she may not have absorbed the cultural references of older interviewees.

Emma: If you come from a family where your dad is African, and your mum is English, you get the Anglo-African label, and you are allowed to say you are mixed race. If you are half Irish and half English you can't, your skin is the same colour, you sound the same and look the same. It really is a problem. There isn't anything for it on a form, there is British, Irish, other.

B: So for you it would be better to have British-Irish, that way around, or Irish-British, or?

Emma: Probably British-Irish, because my family are Irish but I live in Britain.

The choice of 'Irish descent' by Mairead and Martina, two women in their twenties, suggests a keen awareness of the importance of an Irish family background, but an unwillingness to go beyond this to claim full 'Irishness'. The 'White Irish' Census category was intended to include this group, as the rubric 'indicate your cultural background' shows, but it was not seen in this way by the majority of people who participated in the project. When this was drawn to the attention of discussion group participants, many changed their minds and decided that they would tick the box. But most had initially overlooked the instruction, or simply assumed that 'British' was a factually accurate label for those born in Britain.

Martina: To tell you the truth when the Census form came around I wanted to get it sent off quickly, and I put my ethnic status as English. Our Mike phoned me and said what have you put, and I said English, and he said, you are not thinking. I thought, I am not, and the more I

thought about it, I thought, I have sent it off, I can't ask for it back. Probably if I do think about it more, I am more Irish than English.

An important consideration which emerged in longer discussions about identity was the negative attitude of Irish-born people, especially in Ireland, towards the claiming of an Irish identity by those born elsewhere. Charges of inauthenticity, most damningly summed up in the phrase 'plastic Paddy', discouraged those born in Britain, even to two Irish-born parents, from describing themselves as 'Irish'.

Mairead: If I was speaking to someone with an Irish accent, and I said I am Irish, they would say, no, you are not, you were born in England, and then I would say my parents are Irish. So I would defend myself by saying Irish descent.

This was matched by English people's reactions, ridiculing the idea of a significant Irish cultural difference and assuming that an English accent signalled an 'English' identity. The participants in one discussion group saw this as a specific denial of multi-generational Irishness, in contrast to the recognition afforded unproblematically to other 'white' European groups.

Greta: I think, like you, it is difficult to say you are Irish, because you are so obviously not when you speak, and it does seem fraudulent.

B: Would you like to be able to say Irish?

Greta: I don't think it matters really. I would do in some situations. I think Italians are very similar. If you meet an Italian guy of my age, and he was born here and his parents were Italian, you would class him as Italian. Especially if his name was Italian, you wouldn't even think he was English.

B: Even with a very English accent?

Greta: Yes.

Liam: I think you are right. If they were Italian, the community at large would probably be more accepting of that. If you say you are Irish with a broad Mancunian accent like I've got, people do a double take and wonder what on earth you are talking about.

Eilish: They also see you as plastic, and that is embarrassing when you are classed as a plastic Paddy. There are an awful lot around saying that, and I would definitely class myself as Irish, but if I were describing myself to somebody, I would say I was Irish descent. I would never under any circumstances call myself British, but I think that is because my mum is from Lisburn [Northern Ireland] and is a Catholic that has been brought up in Lisburn, and I have through my childhood. Whereas Greta's dad was from Galway and you spent a lot of your childhood there, I spent all my childhood in the North, and I relate strongly to that. I can see what they have been through, and I resent it really, so I would never write on any document British, I would always write other, or tick Irish if it is there. I have got an Irish passport.

Eilish is drawing attention here to the even stronger clash between British and Irish identities amongst those from a nationalist background in Northern Ireland. Both the English and Irish hegemonic domains thus represent 'second generation' 'Irish' identities as inauthentic, making it difficult for people of Irish parentage to claim their Irish background, in strong contrast to those with a visible difference or even a European heritage outside the 'British Isles' (Hickman, Morgan, Walter and Bradley, forthcoming).

Greta's description of herself as 'half English/half Irish' was a common way in which people born in Britain of Irish parentage tried to quantify their hybridity. As in the case of Greta, whose parents were both born in the Irish Republic, this did not necessarily describe a 'biological' division, representing the input of parents from different backgrounds. Instead it described an amalgam of 'public' and 'private' experiences, of growing up and being educated in one culture, whilst immersed in a family life drawing strongly on another.

One solution available to people of Irish parentage living in large Irish communities such as Manchester was to align themselves with a localised Irish identity. This is a more integrated and positive way of viewing identities which chimes closely with James Clifford's (1994) notion of diasporic communities 'dwelling-in-displacement'. Many 'second-generation' Irish people felt that they 'belonged' to Manchester, a city towards which they felt a sense of pride and loyalty, avoiding the political leap necessary to claim an emotional allegiance to England. Marie, a woman in her sixties, had written 'Irish' on her family Tree, and ticked the 'White Irish' box in the 2001 Census, but qualified this in discussion by substituting the phrase 'Mancunian Irish'.

B: Would that be a better description than just Irish?

Marie: Yes, of course it would, I have spent more or less most of my lifetime here.

B: That would sum you up really?

Marie: I have not got my head deep down in Irish roots to that extent, and Manchester has been very good to me.

B: You are happy to think of yourself as a Manchester person, a Mancunian? If somebody said all the Mancunians stand up, you'd get up?

Marie: Yes, and if they said will all the Irish people get up I'd get up as well.

B: If they said English what would you do?

Marie: That is a difficult one, I'd have to think about that one.

These feelings of close allegiance to the city in which they had spent all or most of their lives was echoed by a much younger woman, Eileen, who was in her twenties. She wrote 'Irish-Mancunian' on the Family Tree.

B: You feel very strongly that?

Eileen: Yes, I do like being from Manchester, I lived in Sunderland for a year and I really

appreciated what Manchester had to offer when I was away from it. I was so dying to get away from Manchester, but when I got away I was dying to come back. It was because of the mix of cultures here.

B: The mix of cultures, not just the Irish?

Eileen: There is a big Irish scene here, and I live in an area where it is very Irish-led. You miss that especially when you are playing music as well, and have like-minded people around you in your social circle.

B: So Manchester is an Irish place?

Eileen: I'd say very much so, but it depends on the area though, it depends whereabouts.

B: Where would you say is Irish?

Eileen: Levenshulme definitely, that is where I am from. South Manchester basically, it is a big area. There are areas in North Manchester, but I have spoken to people in North Manchester of Irish descent, and they are like my sister, more into English things. They say, oh, my mum is from Ireland, and I will be dead excited and say where is she from, and they say I don't know. Or they say I went to Ireland once when I was about six, and I couldn't understand that because when I went to school everyone was Irish descent in class, the minority would have English parents.

The strong thread of Irish migrant settlement over many generations has made Manchester a much more 'Irish' place than many other English locations. This is illustrated by the number of participants whose apparently non-Irish parent was in fact a 'second generation' Irish person themselves – the case for Nora, Mairead and Emma whose ages spanned the range from seventies to sixteen. However this link appeared to have been largely broken amongst the interviewees themselves, where only two current partners had Irish connections. This may reflect the diminishing importance of socialising within Catholic environments.

Most women described their partners as 'English'. However one partner, who described himself as 'English', was of second-generation Pakistani background. Greta described her parents' different attitudes to this mixed race partnership, relating their gendered responses to the ethnic composition of their workplaces.

Mum's fine, and maybe that's to do with her working environment [as a nurse], maybe. She knows a lot of Asian people. Whereas Dad works on a building site.

She pointed out the irony that their shared location was not recognised by her father, and many other Irish people.

Greta: But I said to Mum, you know, Dad can't see that – myself and Dad are in exactly the same situation that Jow and his parents are in because they came from a foreign country. We were both born here and ...

S: So you must see that?

Greta: Yeah. But Irish people, I mean a lot of Irish people are like that. And that amazes me.

Irish people in England inhabit a diaspora space in which mixing between different diasporas has been occurring on a significant scale at least since the 1950s when the Irish and African Caribbean communities in particular occupied the same neighbourhoods in large cities in the South East, Midlands and North West of England. Jayne Ifekwunigwe (2001) chose as a project participant in her research on mixed race women in England, 'Irish' Akousa, who grew up in Liverpool with an Irish mother but without her Bajan father, commenting:

Given the shifting historical, political and ultimately racialised status of the Irish in England, it is quite possible that initially Akousa's working class parents saw their plights as more similar than different. (2001, p.44)

Again there are parallels with emerging patterns in Dublin and elsewhere in Ireland (Morrison, 2003).

Our Manchester sample included one mixed race second-generation Irish man of Irish and Nigerian parentage, who had grown up in a single parent family with his Irish mother. These examples illustrate a wider pattern in which Irish women are more closely involved in mixed race relationships than Irish men, or English women (Walter, 1989). This gendering and its consequences for the second-generation forms an important theme in the *Irish 2 Project*⁷. It exemplifies Avtar Brah's (1996, p.209) argument that

border crossings do not occur only across the dominant/dominated dichotomy, but that, equally, there is traffic within cultural formations of the subordinated groups, and that these journeys are not *always* mediated through the dominant culture(s). (original emphasis)

The identifications of second-generation Irish women living in Manchester indicate the complexities of inhabiting the uneven 'diaspora space' of England (Brah, 1996). Women of Irish descent are also placed in distinctive social positions. For example, the occupations of the interviewees reflect the persistence into the second generation of the lower professional niche for Irish women. In Manchester this is more pronounced than in England as a whole, including 29.7% of women ticking the 'White Irish' box compared with the 22.3% total for England (Table 4). Concentration of 'White Irish' women into the 'unskilled' areas of personal service (6) and elementary (9) occupations is also much more pronounced in Manchester, accounting for 35.8% of the group compared with only 24.9% at the national level. It is likely that Irish-born women make up most of these categories, many of whom migrated with few or no formal qualifications. This can be ascertained when the provision of Census data allows the Irish-born to be disaggregated from those of Irish descent.

Women of Irish descent continue to experience a complex range of inclusions and exclusions. Their low representation in the 2001 Census 'White Irish' category, which was apparently intended to include into a common Irish ethnic category all those who recognised a significant Irish element in their 'cultural background', has effectively included them in the 'White British' population, removing them from ethnic minority monitoring procedures. The adoption of the new Census categories by state and local authority monitoring bodies means that this statistical exercise has wider implications for the allocation of resources, for example to health, housing and community care (Walter, 1998). However, an unforeseen consequence of this omission is that the specific needs of Irish women *migrants* may receive more attention as they are not 'diluted' by the younger, better-qualified, English-born 'second generation'.

At a social level of personal identity, women of Irish descent occupy an unusual space where their 'Irish' cultural background is given little recognition outside of the highly specific public arena of the 'Irish community' and the private, family sphere. The extent to which public performance of their Irish identities is possible depends strongly on geographical context. In Manchester and London, meeting places and events are available on a regular basis and participation is a matter of choice. A more limited range of opportunities can be accessed in Coventry, whilst in Banbury these occur only sporadically in the form of Irish music sessions in 'English' folk club venues or occasional outings of the Banbury Irish Football Club. The situation in Glasgow is much more highly charged and the frequently violent clashes between supporters of Celtic and Rangers football teams⁸ testify to unresolved political tensions which have been displaced onto the apparently 'sectarian' differences between those of Catholic Irish and Presbyterian Scottish backgrounds respectively.

CONCLUSIONS

As this article demonstrated, Irish women in the diaspora have been drawn to destinations where their labour has been particularly in demand. Many of the jobs they have been hired to do are similar to those now being filled by foreign workers in Ireland. They were needed in the USA and Britain as a replacement domestic service supply when locally-born women were recruited into 'white-blouse' work in commerce and administration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This closely parallels the rapid rise in demand for domestic and childcare workers to support the dramatic increase in labour force participation amongst Irish women from the late 1990s (Conway, 2003). But the foreign demand for Irish women's labour is not simply of historic interest. The pattern was revived in the 1980s and 1990s in the USA where young Irish women were the preferred 'nanny' class for 'white' American families. Although in 2001 'White Irish' women in England disproportionately filled professional and managerial slots, many continue to be clustered into the lowest-paid 'elementary' sector in particular locations, such as Manchester.

Their experiences demonstrate that the combination of low pay (and its concomitant problems, including poor housing, poor diet, increased exposure to alcohol abuse, limited opportunity to save for

old age) and racist attitudes based on deeply-ingrained stereotyping has profound effects on the quality of life. These are largely unrecognised by the mainstream societies in which Irish women have settled. In Britain the economic and social exclusions faced by older Irish women are compounded by a lack of sensitivity to their needs because of the common understanding that the 'British Isles' entity shares a single 'white' culture. In the USA the belief that the Irish as a whole are quintessential members of the mainstream 'white' society, with a strongly protective political voice, makes it difficult to recognise and meet their specific needs. In Australia the large Irish component in the majority 'white' population has meant that the issue of migrants' cultural specificity has hardly been raised.

The submersion of needs abroad has contributed to an ignorance in Ireland itself of the negative aspects of emigration, particularly resented now that the 'homeland' appears so prosperous (Tilki, 2003). The meticulous research and policy deliberations of the Task Force raised hopes in the diaspora that this long-term neglect might at last be reversed, but as yet no concrete proposals have been forthcoming (RTE *Prime Time* 2003). But the parallels between the lives of Irish women abroad and present-day immigrants in Ireland are striking and could be used positively in constructing an inclusive multicultural society.

ENDNOTES

1. This research was funded by Research Grant R000238367 from the Economic and Social Research Council. The co-applicants were Professor Bronwen Walter, Anglia Polytechnic University, Professor Mary J. Hickman, London Metropolitan University and Dr Joseph M. Bradley, University of Stirling. Dr Sarah Morgan was Research Fellow. The website, which includes newsletters and a discussion of methodology is at www.anglia.ac.uk/geography/progress/irish2/
2. The research project *Breaking the Silence* explores the experiences of those who remained in Ireland during periods of heavy emigration <http://migration.ucc.ie/oralarchive/testing/breaking/about.html>
3. See *Task Force Study* for these statistical tables which were drawn from Central Statistical Office tables for 1987-2001.
4. In the published reports of the 1991 Census, statistics recording poor health (limiting long term illness) amongst the Irish-born population were produced (Federation of Irish Societies 1996). For the 2001 Census, however, the statistics were published by ethnic group (White Irish), rather than birthplace. Those ticking the White Irish box in England included 89.3% of the total born in the Irish Republic, 26.3% of the total born in Northern Ireland and 23.3% born in England, Wales and Scotland.
5. The 2001 British Census ethnic question for England and Wales asked 'What is your ethnic group?' This was followed by the instruction 'Choose one section from (a) to (e) then tick the appropriate box to indicate your cultural background'. The sections were (a) White (with

- separate boxes for British, Irish and Any other White background. Please describe) (b) Mixed (with boxes for White and Black Caribbean, White and Black African, White and Asian and Any other mixed background. Please describe) (c) Asian or Asian British (with boxes for Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Any other Asian background. Please describe) (d) Black or Black British (with boxes for Caribbean, African and Any other Black background. Please describe) and (e) Chinese or Other ethnic group (with boxes for Chinese and Any other. Please describe).
6. This term refers to the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland, descendants of the landed aristocracy and gentry 'planted' in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Lalor, 2003).
 7. The identities and social positionings of mixed race Irish second-generation people is a theme currently being explored in the *Irish 2 Project*. We included four participants, two women and two men, in Manchester, London and Coventry whose fathers' backgrounds were Pakistani, Nigerian and African Caribbean. Each had an Irish-born mother.
 8. There is an extensive literature on the ethnic/national background to the longstanding rivalry between these two major Scottish football clubs (Bradley, 1995, 1997, 1998a, 1998b, 2003, 2004). Support reflects ongoing ethnic and religious divisions in Scotland, Celtic Football Club representing those with Irish Catholic origins and Rangers Football Club having a strongly Protestant Scottish following.

REFERENCES

- Akenson, Donald (1993). *The Irish diaspora: a primer*. Toronto: P.D.Meany.
- Almeida, Linda Dowling (2001). *Irish immigrants in New York City 1945-1995*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Aspinall, Peter (1996). *The development of an ethnic group question for the 2001 Census*. London: Office for National Statistics.
- Boyle, Mark (2002). Edifying the rebellious Gael: uses of memories of Ireland's troubled past among the West of Scotland's Irish Catholic diaspora. In David C. Harvey, Rhys Jones, Neil McInroy and Christine Milligan (Eds.). *Celtic geographies: old cultures, new times* (pp. 173-191). London: Routledge.
- Bradley, Joseph (1995). *Ethnic and religious identity in modern Scotland: culture, politics and football*. Aldershot: Avebury.
- Bradley, Joseph (1997). Political, religious and cultural identities: the undercurrents of Scottish football. *Politics* 17, 25-32.
- Bradley, Joseph (1998a). *Sport, culture, politics and Scottish society: Irish immigrants and the Gaelic Athletic Association*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers.
- Bradley, Joseph (1998b) Sport and the contestation of cultural and ethnic identities in Scottish society. *Immigrants and minorities* 17, 127-150.
- Bradley, Joseph (2003) Images of Scottishness and otherness in international football. *Social identities* 9, 7-23.

- Bradley, Joseph (Ed.)(2004). *Celtic minded: essay on religion, politics, society, identity...and football*. Glendaruel, Argyll: Argyll Publishing.
- Brah, Avtar (1996). *Cartographies of Diaspora: contesting identities*. London: Routledge.
- Clifford, James (1994). Diasporas. *Cultural Anthropology* 9, 302-338.
- Commission on emigration and other population problems 1948-1954 (1956) Reports*, Dublin: Government Stationery Office.
- Conroy, Pauline (2003). Women's movement – migrant women transforming Ireland. In Ronit Lentin and Eithne Luibheid (Eds.) *Women's Movement: Migrant Women Transforming Ireland*. Dublin: MPhil in Ethnic and Racial Studies, TCD, www.tcd.ie/Sociology/mphil/dwnl/migrantwomenpapers.PDF
- Corcoran, Mary (1993). *Irish illegals: transients between two societies*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Cowley, Ultan (2001). *The men who built Britain: a history of the Irish navy*. Dublin: Wolfhound Press.
- Diner, Hasia (1983). *Erin's daughters in America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Federation of Irish Societies (1996) *The Health of the Irish in Britain*. London: London Irish Centre.
- Fitzpatrick, David (1986). "A share of the honeycomb": Education, emigration and Irish women. *Continuity and Change* 1, 217-34.
- Fraser, Ursula (2003). Two-tier citizenship – the Lobe and Osayande case. In Ronit Lentin and Eithne Luibheid (Eds.) *Women's Movement: Migrant Women Transforming Ireland*. Dublin: MPhil in Ethnic and Racial Studies, TCD, www.tcd.ie/Sociology/mphil/dwnl/migrantwomenpapers.PDF
- Gray, Breda (1999). Longings and belongings – gendered spatialities of Irishness. *Irish Studies Review* 7, 193-210.
- Gray, Breda (2003). *Women and the Irish diaspora*. London: Routledge.
- Harding, Seeromanie and Balarajan, Raj (1996). Patterns of mortality in second generation Irish living in England and Wales: longitudinal study. *British Medical Journal* 312, 1389-1392.
- Hartigan, John (1997). Locating white Detroit. In Ruth Frankenberg (Ed.) *Displacing whiteness: essay in social and cultural criticism* (pp.180-213). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Hickman, Mary J. and Walter, Bronwen (1997). *Discrimination and the Irish community in Britain*. London: Commission for Racial Equality.
- Hickman, Mary J., Morgan, Sarah and Walter, Bronwen (2001). *The second-generation Irish: a demographic, socio-economic and health profile*. London : University of North London.
- Hickman, Mary J. (2002). Locating the Irish diaspora. *Irish Journal of Sociology* 11, 8-26.
- Hickman, Mary J., Morgan, Sarah, Walter Bronwen, and Bradley, Joseph (forthcoming) The limitations of whiteness and the boundaries of Englishness: second-generation Irish identifications and positionings in multi-ethnic Britain. *Ethnicities*.
- Ifekwunigwe, Jayne O. (2001). Re-membling 'race': on gender, 'mixed race' and family in the English-African diaspora. In Parker, David and Song, Miri (Eds) *Rethinking 'mixed race'* (pp.42-64). London: Pluto Press.
- Kelly, Kate and Nic Giolla Choille, Triona (1990). *Emigration matters for women*, Dublin:Attic Press.
- King, Russell and O'Connor, Henrietta (1996). Migration and gender: Irish women in Leicester. *Geography* 81,311-325.

- Lalor, Brian (Ed.) (2003) *Encyclopaedia of Ireland*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.
- Lentin, Ronit (2002) Ireland's other diaspora: Jewish-Irish within, Irish-Jewish without. *Golem* 9,74-85.
- Lentin, Ronit (2003) (En)gendering Ireland's migratory space. In Ronit Lentin and Eithne Luibheid (Eds.) *Women's Movement: Migrant Women Transforming Ireland*. Dublin: MPhil in Ethnic and Racial Studies, TCD, www.tcd.ie/Sociology/mphil/dwnl/migrantwomenpapers.PDF
- Lloyd, David (1994). Making sense of the dispersal. *Irish Reporter* 13, 3-4.
- Luibheid, Eithne (1997). Irish immigrants in the United States' racial system. In Jim Mac Laughlin (Ed.). *Location and dislocation in contemporary Irish society* (pp.252-273). Cork: Cork University Press.
- Luibheid, Eithne (2003). Globalization and sexuality: redrawing racial and national boundaries through discourses of childbearing. In Ronit Lentin and Eithne Luibheid (Eds.) *Women's Movement: Migrant Women Transforming Ireland*. Dublin: MPhil in Ethnic and Racial Studies, TCD, www.tcd.ie/Sociology/mphil/dwnl/migrantwomenpapers.PDF
- McClaughlin, Trevor (Ed.) (1998). *Irish women in colonial Australia*. St Leonards NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- McClintock, Anne (1995). *Imperial Leather: race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest*. London: Routledge.
- MacDonald, Michael Patrick (1999). *All Souls: a family story from Southie*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Mac Éinrí, Piaras (2001). Immigration policy in Ireland. In Fintan Farrell and Philip Watt (Eds) *Responding to racism in Ireland* (pp.46-79). Dublin: Veritas. pp.46-87.
- Morrison, Angeline (2003). Irish and 'brown' – mixed 'race' Irish women's identity and the problem of belonging. In Ronit Lentin and Eithne Luibheid (Eds.) *Women's Movement: Migrant Women Transforming Ireland*. Dublin: MPhil in Ethnic and Racial Studies, TCD, www.tcd.ie/Sociology/mphil/dwnl/migrantwomenpapers.PDF
- Noel, Virginie. (2003) 'Filipina nurses working in the Irish health service: Do experiences of prejudice affect integration in the workplace and lower self-esteem?' In Ronit Lentin and Eithne Luibheid (Eds.) *Women's Movement: Migrant Women Transforming Ireland*. Dublin: MPhil in Ethnic and Racial Studies, TCD, www.tcd.ie/Sociology/mphil/dwnl/migrantwomenpapers.PDF
- Nolan, Janet (1989). *Ourselves alone: Women's emigration from Ireland 1885-1920*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
- O'Connor, Pat (1998). *Emerging voices: women in contemporary Irish society*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration.
- O'Connor, Henrietta and Goodwin, John (2002). Work and the Irish diaspora. *Irish Journal of Sociology* 11, 27-53.
- Pieterse, Jan Nederveen (2001). Hybridity, so what? The anti-hybridity backlash and the riddles of recognition. *Theory, Culture & Society* 18, 219-245.
- Punch, Aidan and Finneran, Catherine (1999). The demographic and socio-economic characteristics of migrants, 1986-1996. *Journal of the Statistical and Social Enquiry Society of Ireland* Vol XXVIII Part 1:1-39.
- RTE1 *Prime Time* Ireland's Forgotten generation 22 December, 2003.
- Ryan, Louise (2001) Aliens, migrants and maids: public discourses on Irish immigration to Britain in 1937. *Immigrants and minorities* 20, 25-42.

- Task Force on Policy regarding Emigrants (2002) *Ireland and the Irish Abroad: Report of the Task Force on Policy regarding Emigrants to the Minister for Foreign Affairs Mr Brian Cowen, T.D.*
www.gov.ie/iveagh/
- Tilki, Mary (2003). *A study of the health of Irish born people in London: the relevance of social and economic factors, health beliefs and behaviours*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Middlesex University, UK.
- Walter, Bronwen (1984). Tradition and ethnic interaction: second wave Irish settlement in Luton and Bolton. In Colin Clarke, David Ley & Ceri Peach (Eds.) *Geography and ethnic pluralism* (pp.258-283). London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Walter, Bronwen (1989) *Irish women in London: the Ealing dimension*. London: Ealing Women's Unit.
- Walter, Bronwen (1991). Gender and recent Irish migration to Britain. In Russell King (Ed.) *Contemporary Irish migration* (pp.11-31). Dublin: Geographical Society of Ireland Special Publications .
- Walter, Bronwen (1997). Contemporary Irish settlement in London: women's worlds, men's worlds. In Jim Mac Laughlin (Ed.) *Location and dislocation in contemporary Irish society* (pp.61-93). Cork: Cork University Press.
- Walter, Bronwen (1998). Challenging the black/white binary: the need for an Irish category in the 2001 Census. *Patterns of Prejudice* 32, 73-86.
- Walter, Bronwen (2001). *Outsiders inside: whiteness, place and Irish women*. London: Routledge.
- Walter, Bronwen with Gray, Breda, Dowling, Linda Almeida and Morgan, Sarah (2002) *Irish emigrants and Irish communities abroad: a study of existing sources of information and analysis for the task force on Policy regarding Emigrants*. www.gov.ie/iveagh/.
- Walter, Bronwen, Morgan, Sarah, Hickman, Mary J. and Bradley, Joseph (2002) Family stories, public silence: identity construction amongst second-generation Irish in England. *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 118, 201-217.

Table 1: Occupations in England 2001

| | White Irish | White British |
|---|--------------------|----------------------|
| WOMEN | | |
| 1 Managers and Senior Officials | 13.2 | 11.2 |
| 2 Professional | 13.2 | 9.5 |
| 3 Associate Professional and Technical | 20.4 | 13.8 |
| 4 Administrative and Secretarial | 18.8 | 23.2 |
| 5 Skilled Trades | 1.9 | 2.4 |
| 6 Personal Services | 12.1 | 12.9 |
| 7 Sales and Customer services | 7.1 | 12.1 |
| 8 Process; plant and machine operatives | 2.0 | 3.1 |
| 9 Elementary | 11.3 | 12.0 |

Source: 2001 Census. Key statistics for local authorities. Crown copyright.

Table 2: Health of the White Irish ethnic group England 2001: % self-reporting both Limiting Longterm Illness and Not Good Health

| Age group | White Irish | White British |
|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| WOMEN | | |
| 16-49 | 5.0 | 4.0 |
| 50-64 | 15.6 | 11.9 |
| 65+ | 26.2 | 30.0 |
| MEN | | |
| 16-49 | 5.8 | 3.8 |
| 50-64 | 19.4 | 12.9 |
| 65+ | 22.7 | 20.1 |

Source: 2001 Census. Key statistics for local authorities. Crown copyright.

Table 3: Women interviewees in Manchester: Irish 2 Project, 2001

| Interviewee | Age | Parents | | Partner | Identifies as | Job |
|-------------|-----|---------------------------|---------------------------|------------|------------------------|------------|
| | | Mother | Father | | | |
| Nora | 70s | 2 nd gen Irish | IR | Irish | Irish | [domestic] |
| Theresa | 40s | IR | Ukraine | English | Irish | IT officer |
| Mairead | 20s | NI | 2 nd gen Irish | Irish | Irish/desc-ent | Nurse |
| Martina | 20s | IR | IR | English | Irish descent | Clerical |
| Eileen | 20s | IR | IR | - | Irish Mancunian | IT student |
| Marie | 60s | IR | IR | English | Irish/Manchester Irish | [Nurse] |
| Greta | 20s | NI | IR | Asian | 1/2English/1/2Irish | IT manager |
| Emma | 16 | 2 nd gen Irish | IR | — | British-Irish | Student |
| Monica | 40s | IR | IR | — | Anglo-Irish | Lecturer |
| Carmel | 20s | IR | IR | Australian | English | Nanny |
| Bridget | 30s | Eng | IR | English | English | Secretary |

IR Irish Republic
NI Northern Ireland
[retired]

Source: *Irish 2 Project* interviews, 2001

Table 4: Occupations in Manchester 2001

| | White Irish | White British |
|---|--------------------|----------------------|
| WOMEN | | |
| 1 Managers and Senior Officials | 8.2 | 9.1 |
| 2 Professional | 13.9 | 11.9 |
| 3 Associate Professional and Technical | 15.8 | 13.8 |
| 4 Administrative and Secretarial | 14.8 | 19.4 |
| 5 Skilled Trades | 2.1 | 2.0 |
| 6 Personal Services | 14.3 | 12.9 |
| 7 Sales and Customer services | 7.2 | 11.8 |
| 8 Process; plant and machine operatives | 2.1 | 2.6 |
| 9 Elementary | 21.5 | 16.6 |

Source: 2001 Census. Key statistics for local authorities. Crown copyright.